1. How the discoverers of the New World saw ~~this~~ People ? This is the question, I will like to ~~deal~~ tackle with you ~~tonight~~ this morning That is to say that we deal with a specific period : XVI and XVII century or if you want, ~~end~~ the end of the Renaissance and ~~the~~ Classic era And that we will deal with a specific place : America as seen by the Europeans in that period. You will forgive me to narrow even more ~~the~~ my subject ~~m~~ by to ~~the~~ Canadian examples.

2. The discovery of America ~~has given birth~~ has fostered not only the ~~apparition of~~ texts, like ~~narration of voyages~~ voyages narrations narratives, ~~descri~~ litterary descriptions of the New World, but also ~~the~~ images, i.e to ~~give~~ a specific iconography. Even if it is impossible to deal with one without touching the other, my ~~a~~ main concern, as ~~an~~ art historian, is with the images. as we find them on maps, and in books illustrated ~~or~~ by engravings.

3. Right away, it is important to ask what was the nature of these illustrations ? Were they intended to be faithful representation of the reality ? Or were they something else ? - I think it will be very misleading to see

them as ~~false~~ representation ~~of~~ even naive one (or imperfect representation) of the american reality. They were not intended to be so. They were rather ~~meant~~ intended to show to the onlooker how these far off regions were supposed to look, according to what we could expect of them. That is to say that they were not based on facts, but rather on preconceptions already derived by a long tradition ~~rather~~ That it is why that any attempt to interpret them as ~~fake~~ representations is bound to fail.

4. What ~~were~~ was this tradition? I see it as three folded. Three main preconceptions established how people inhabiting far off center should look.

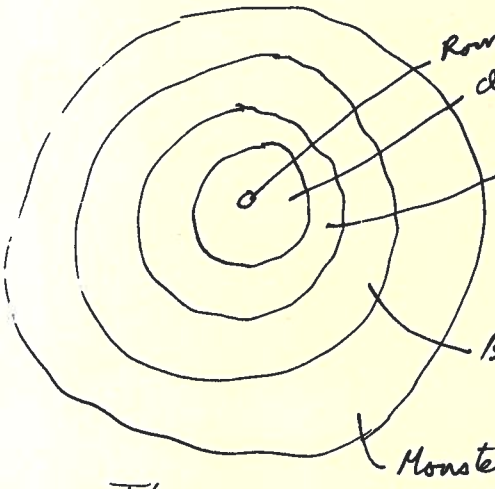
a) the first one could be called the tradition of the monstrueous races (mirabilia). It claimed that the ends of the world should be inhabited by monstrueous creatures, ~~unicorns~~ man or beast, unicorns and giants if you want.

The main idea here was to link monstrosity or physical difformity with ~~speed~~ distance, and reciprocally, physical normalcy with proximity. That is why, I think, we can characterize the idea of the monsters ~~as a~~ essentially as a geographical or territorial one. There is a geography of the monsters, ~~even~~ sure enough the place of the monsters ~~is~~ has been a mobile one ~~one I would say~~, since they have moove from africa in antiquity, to India in the Medieval age to end up in America in the Renaissance.

You will notice that this conception contradict the idea of a spherical earth. On a ~~sphere~~ surface of a sphere all points are equivalents. They ~~are~~ is no center, no periphery, ~~no edges~~ This conception is much closer to the views of ancient cosmogonies, showing a flat world with edges.

The perception of a world as center and margins, center and edges is in fact the perception of the world as a territory. As such it probably came from very far indeed in our own animal past. Cf Robert Ardrey, "The Territorial Imperative."

~~But~~ So, essentialy, human monsters have been associated with the ends of the known world, the limits of which have changed with time. ~~But~~ Their excentric situation nevertheless has been constant.



If you want, it supposed a kind of concentric vision of the world in which Jerusalem was at ~~occupies~~ the center, then you would have found Rome Christianity, then the heterodoxies (mainly the Jews and the Moslems) then the barbaroi, then the monsters. [the one who do not speak clearly]

These monsters were numerous and varied. It is tempting ~~Probably, anyone who had studied the human monsters has been tempted to propose~~ to try a to classifications of them... But it is not easy: you to discard it soon enough your classification, because there is always a group which seems to escape your categorisation. What strike me on this subject it is the possible and frequent pairing of the monsters

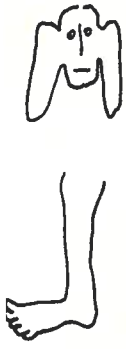
1- The most obvious pairs is probably the Giants and the Pygmies

2- the uniped (or sciapod) seems to go with the monsters + with big ears. As you know

1. The most obvious pair is evidently the Giants and the Pygmies. ~~They are~~ One is monstrous by being too high. ~~The other are~~ The other by being too small. ~~They are~~ Therefore, one can say, that their monstruosity is expressed in terms of ~~height~~ size. ~~The high and the small are~~ Size and the opposition of low and high is one of the categories of Aristotle. ~~But here is another example which play on another aristotelician category: the hot and the cold.~~ This opposition was doubled by another one + opposition in age; pygmies live is short giants' is long.

2. The uniped (or sciapod) and the monster with big ears (he has no name; sometimes the is refered too ~~as the~~ by is sanskrit name, Kalipāṛśva, because it appears in ~~sanskrit~~ vedantic litterature). As you know

the sciapod had only one foot and could protect himself with his foot against the rays of the sun, by lying on his back. The monster with big ears seems to have been preoccupy more with cold than with heat, since we are told that he could used his big ears as blanket to wrap himself with during the cold night. Both have developed a part of their anatomy (and an extremity at that!: the foot or the ear, head) to fulfill a role normaly held by clothing among humans or fur, among animals. Their solution is curiously somewhere between humanity and animality ... because they have specialised a part of their anatomy as if it was a tool.



3- We can made an analogous analysis of the Cynocephales, the man with a dog head and the more traditionnal Satyre. The first has the upper part of his body turned into an animal head, the other, the lower part, into an animal hind legs. Both have problem of unity. If you

think that in the ancient anthropology, the head was the siege of command, auctoritas ~~to~~ for a human body to be commanded by a dog head was not much better to an animal body, to try to interpret the orders of an human head. The suggestion was taken of course from the opposition of the λογος and of the εφος in the old greek anthropology. The Satyres were particularly ill famed on the chapter of lubricity and the Cynocephales were supposed to be agressive, even cannibalistic

But since this anthropological model was not dichotomic, but had a place for an intermediary between the λογος and the εφος, the so-called θυμος, it is not surprising that a third category of monsters has developped around this idea. ~~I want to speak~~ We could situate here, I think, the acephale or Blemyes, this men without head, so without λογος, but having their senses ~~in the~~ affixed in the breast locale of the heart and consequently of the θυμος. Since the θυμος is the siege of the

passions, ~~it is~~ and that ~~wrath~~ anger or wrath is the passion ~~of~~ par excellence, it is not surprising to learn that acephales ~~who~~ were particularly violent creatures. They are often represented with stick or shield in their hands.

And we could go on ... like this for a while I presume. What these remarks demonstrate it is not so much, that the monsters were a construction of the mind — we did'nt need ~~them~~ that to be convinced of ~~that~~ this fact ! — but how they were actualy constructed, by a simple play of structural imagination, ~~being~~ the one which is at work in the myth ~~for~~ in particular ~~example~~. Obviously, ~~and~~ collective creations and being collective, ~~for that reason~~ relying heavily on the unconscious, ~~they~~ reveal the main structure (the binary opposition) of the mind in our culture (if not in any culture ; there is an example of a Blemya in a chinese manuscript of the IV^th^ century of our era ; but on the other hand, we have seen how they comment on the current anthropology of the Greek world).

To summarize, the iconography of the monsters implies an ~~discourse~~ essentialy home-bound discourse: "It is not good to be too far from the center." You could loose up to your ~~forms~~ physical forms", God knows if the non-christians have learned, through history, how ~~right~~ "true" was this axiom.

Sometimes, I am asking myself, if we are not here at the very root of a phenomenon like torture in which terrible constraints are put on the human body in order that ~~it~~ it will conform to some monstrous image of man. What incline me to think ~~so~~ that ~~this~~, it is precisely that torture was applied against heterodox people, against the Jews specially during the period we have in mind now, under the Inquisition.... But this terrible subject should demand more reflexion, more thinking....

One final remark about monsters, a remark which applies to all of them. The monsters do not speak. Many have no mouth at all. Some have only a little hole instead, from which as explained Pomponius Mela, a roman geographer of the I century, thes aspire seeds from a tube to

feed themselves and from which they utter a "kind of squeaking." These are only specialists of an incapacity which seems to have been shared by all of them. The monsters were unable to speak. That means also of course that they were beyond human communication. But this, as you know, had not restrained the power on the medieval sculptors of Vezelay who put the monsters in the reach of the Evangelical predication. If the Gospel was to be preached to every man, up to the end of the worlds ... the monsters has to be included as the others in its scope and ambition.

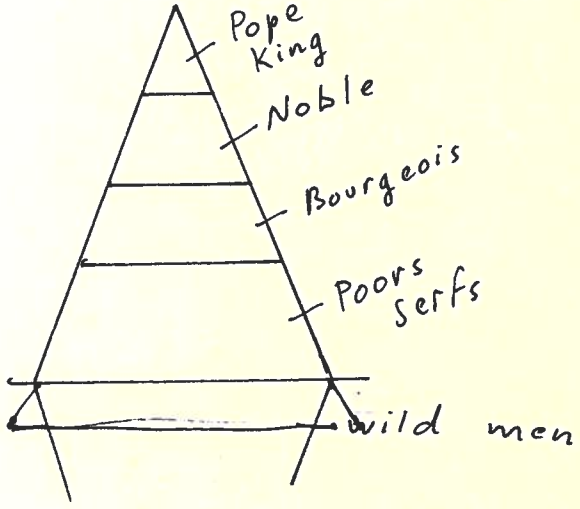
b) there was a second iconographic tradition inherited from the Medieval Era by the Renaissance and le Grand Siècle to deal with the exotic men, and it was the tradition of the "wild men", so well studied by Berthouin and medievalists.

tradition was very different from the previous ~~one~~. Even if you could say that the wild man covered with hair from the head to the feet ~~could be~~ is a kind of monster, one character is enough to distinguish them from the monsters. The wild man is not defined by his distance from us. The wild man is near us. Many were reported to have been seen in Europe. They were ~~basically~~ poor people, often insane, that the community ~~were~~ pushed on ~~at its~~ margin, in the forest where they had acquired their uncouth appearance.

In fact, even the idea of marginality is not strong enough to understand their ~~true~~ true structure, since it still implies a process of spatialisation, albeit a ~~local~~ local one.
Marginality was not the cause but the effect of their status. Wild man represented a kind of radical poverty, since a wild man ~~having~~

had ~~lost everything~~ nothing, even ~~a form of clothing~~ clothes; he had to grow hair like an animal to protect himself from the cold. This absence of vestment was ~~not~~ just a sign of other poverties, more crucial ever: He ~~was without~~ had no virtues, no good usages, in short no mores; ~~free~~ he was free (not a necessary ~~of~~ a quality before the invention of freedom in 1789!) and completly immersed in nature. We would have said that the wild man ~~was or~~ represented what could happen to men if they loose their culture and civilisation. The wild man is essentially the man without culture.

The consequence of this is that instead of being a geographic one, the concept of wild man implies a ~~social~~ social hierarchy in which he occupies the lowest echelon. In other words, the imagination here refer to a sociological fantasy not to a geographical one.



Here again we are reminded ~~of old cosmogonies; where~~ ~~made in 6 days~~ ~~social conception~~ ~~of~~ of our animal past in which the notion of hierarchy plays such a rob.

This concept was to have an immense fortune in the thought of ~~the~~ the Occident during the time of the Discovery and the First Exploitation of the New World. I suspect that it was the foundation of many missionary activities. If the wild man is essentially a poor man having lost everything up to the cultural goods, these most precious ~~of goods~~ gifts it was a duty of charity to give them back these goods, namely Catholicism and in my case, French language... among other things. His resistance to these "beautiful" gifts was not even excpected. When it will show occasionaly among the Amerindians, the first European reaction was habitualy a reaction of scandal and indignation: "How could they refuse to be Christian! or to speak a decent European language!"

I have said that the discourse about the monsters was essentially a home-bound discourse. "It is no good to be far." Now what this new iconographic tradition was suggesting was

something like that: "It is not good to be too low in ~~the~~ rank" Better be at the top. Not that it is a completly secure position: in the book Daniel, we are told of a King who became like an animal but Man could express more his human potentialities if he were higher in the social hierarchy. ~~You dictor~~ It is remarkable that in many cultures where the concept of rank, if not of classes, is important, the title of "man" or "true man" is reserved to the King. And you would have not to press too much on a medieval peasant to convince him that he was not a "true man" in this sense. That he was generally happy with his lot, doesn't ~~change~~ add too much to the problem.

c) Up to now, we have seen two traditions playing essentially on two main axis: an horizontal one, like in the case of the monsters and a vertical one, if you want, ~~of~~ in the case of the wild man. But there was a third tradition

which would play ~~not on one nor on the other of these two axis~~ on a different axis. It will include ~~simply a conception of~~ an ~~elem~~ ~~temp~~ element of temporality in the definition. It is a very rich tradition since it includes the myth of Eden, given and lost, the myth of a Golden Era ~~Ages~~ in which humanity was better than ~~that~~ it is now and to which it aspires to go back, at least in imagination.

soft primitivism
hard primitivism

Some rare thinkers of the period, like Giordano Bruno were even ready to think that ~~were has~~ the Golden Era was not so "golden" after all and that in its first apparition humanity was in a very primitive stage, from which due to the development of art and technology ~~they~~ it ~~were~~ was able to escape. Piero di Cosimo was probably touched by this kind of theory when he painted his famous views of the Primitive Time so brilliantly analyzed by Panofsky, as you know. But this was heterodoxy in the Renaissance and after. ~~The~~ It challenged the authority of the Bible and as such was almost unthinkable. Bruno died burned on the scaffold, if I am not mistaken.

(a strange way to teach them how to think!)

The main idea was the same: exotic man had to be defined in terms of time also. And God knows how this type of thinking was apply to the New World. You find traces of this ~~perspective~~ point of view in all the ~~explanation~~ texts which tries to explain the origin of American Indians. Among them, one of the most popular one was to see in the Indians, descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel, lost after the separation of Israel and Juda. Since it appears that the Indians had in their beliefs and their usages some similarity with the Torah, — like for example a belief in the Noah's flood, some rule of Kashrout, even among the Yucatan Indians pratice which resembles circumcision... — the conclusion was that they must originate from these 10 lost tribes. The many and very obvious differences were put on the fault of oblivion and degenerescence. What was striking, was that they kept something of their ancient beliefs and usages.

From that, it was easy to conclude, and this

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conclusion was often drawn by missionaries, that basically Indians were longing to go back to their origins. They were seen as stranded people aspiring to be reunited to Christianity (which is, as you know, the fullfilment of Judaism!), so much that the missionary work was seen as a kind of socratic maieutic only.

This will be reflected in the Renaissance iconography of the Indians in a pervasive fashion. Never Indians will be represented otherwise than according to Greco-Roman canons: same facial features, same musculature, same posture even... (Contra-posto)

The idea of racialy characterizing the Indians come very late indeed: middle of XIX Century only.

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when painting and photography were already compe-
ting to give us a better image of the New world.

To conclude this presentation, before presenting the slides I want to
add only one thing. More important than the negative
aspect of these different approaches (the Indian
is not normal ; he is monstrueous the Indian is without culture ;
he is wild
the Indian has lost contact with his origin)
→ he is stranded
it is the fact that all these approaches are ~~they are~~ based on comparisons

(It is Michel Foucault who had me realized
The first anthropology had always proposed to
that). ~~In anthropology, we have understand~~
understand
the other, not as such, but by comparison with
us. He ~~is~~ lack what we have; ~~instead of being~~
He is not
~~He is as~~ different, having something else than

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of human nature, than only one of us.

The paradox of the situation stems from the fact that at the very moment when ~~this~~ a differential approach begins to be applied to plants and animals with the definition of Natural History in the XVII° Century, the same principles are not applied to human and anthropology remained unchanged up to the XIX Century. When man was ~~able~~ able to represent nature instead of just knowing it by comparisons, he was hesitating to represent ~~the other man~~ another culture as such, as if it was a sacred ground on which it was forbidden to go.

Rather the idea of human unity could not be challenged

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LIST OF SLIDES:

a) Two examples of the iconography of the monsters

- Uniped
  Chronica of Nuremberg
  1493 - contemporary of the discovery

// Pygmies and Giants
in South America
Map of Olaus Magnus
middle of XVI century.

b) Examples of the wild men tradition

- the Famous Rostock engraving of 1505 (or 1504)
  Brazilian Indians as cannibals.

- Illustration of Epistola Albericii
  accompanying the text Novo mondo de Amerigo Vespucci
  wild men in the (desert.) 1506.

- Map of Desceliers 1546
  wild men on a map
  and opposition to Knights.

// This map is based on the
trip of Cartier. 1535-1542

- Map of Vallard, 1557
  same idea ; gesture who makes sense
  opposed to gesture who do not make sense

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c) a specific problem: the representation of Indian Village

- the famous plan of Hochelaga as it appears in Ramusio, Nuevi Viaggi, 1556 - engraved by Gastaldi(?).

// - We have a good idea of what an Iroquoian village looked like
  a) Forget site, too small, Ontario, Canada
  b) St Ignatius site, with a central place
  c) Cahiaqué site / unfinished

- the most spectacular is the Nodwell site, dug by Wright in 1972 middle size village.
- an example of a specific house.

Where the illustration of Ramusio come from? Let us notice first

~~Why Hochelaga rectangular~~

But another source is more contemporary
- Francesco di Giorgio

Imaginary town.

- The same reasoning could be applied

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■ Plan of Medici Palace by Michelolozzo in Florence excuse the comparison.

d) one step further in the development of Indian toporaphy.

■ a detail of 1612 map by Samuel de Champlain Montagnais and Almouchicois. [The main opposition Nomads and Sedentary

1) ■ signed by David Pelletier author of this illustration of Cesar Augustus.

2) ■ based on exploration of Atlantic coast by Champlain

3) ■ Almouchicois = Massachusets
Indians – agriculture
Montagnais – Nomads.

■ We found our Almouchicois on the Frontispice of 1619 ed. of Works of Champlain. The same visage is used but here, ~~they~~ it stands for agricultural Indians, the Huron knew who agriculture

Possible sources of inspiration ■ de Bry frontispice
■ [illegible] frontispice

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- a plate representing indians in 1619 Champlain works

Nipissing, Ottawa and Huron

↑
note

- for the snow shoes, I think they come from tennis racket, as these two representations of XVI and XVII centuries respectively showed us

- Lahontan in 1720 gives a better view of the snow shoes but he forget that snow is cold.

- The other plate in Champlain only huron. Theme of separation between the role of sexes. 5 women 5 men.

- a last example: Champlain view of a troquois village

- battle of 1615 difficult to localise

We know already that this have no base on archeological reality.

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first, let me point out two
medievals traits

1) ■ first le cavalier ≠ beffroi

2) ■ second the system of castellation
and of gutter on the wall

3) □ the system of protection of the palissade.

but the overall view of the towns looks
even more closely than Hochelaga to ~~a~~ an ~~utopia~~ utopic town of Renaissance

■ Villefranche -

■ Philippeville -

■ plan by ~~Papiccio~~ Lupici, Trattato
militare, middle of XVI° Century.

For comparison sake :

■ view of Lafitau 1724 dependant of Champlain

■ view of John White, much before: 1590, but without
strong influence.